

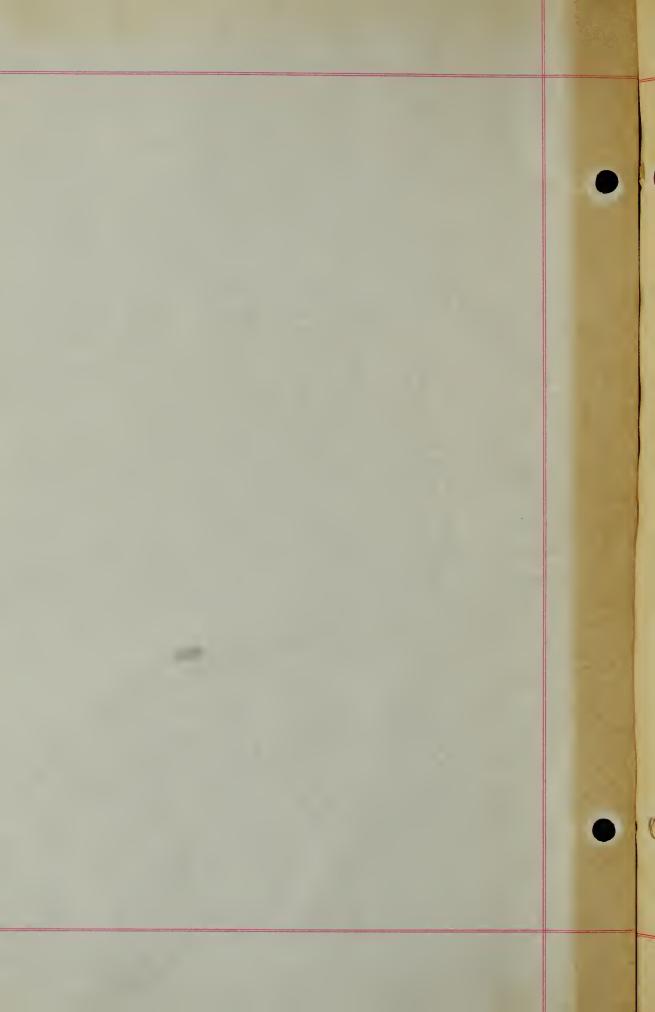


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THE CONFLICT OF PALESTINIAN JUDAISM WITH HELLENISM FROM 333 B.C. to 135 B.C.

by

George Edgar Kelsey
(Ph.B., University of Wisconsin, 1931)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Chapter I

JUDAISM

The story we are about to follow was enacted in the little province of Judaea, tucked away in the hill-country of Southern Palestine between the Mediterranean and Dead Seas. It is a rough country composed of rugged limestone hills cut sharply with narrow tumbling, though fertile, valleys -- a veritable haven for a band of rebels engaged in guerrilla warfare. On the east and south lies the desert, hot, dry, impassible. To the west the hills give way rapidly to the narrow, maritime plain and the sea, while on the north they stretch out through Samaria to the plains of Esdraelon and beyond that to the mountains of Lebanon. The rainfall is limited to the winter and spring, and during the rest of the year the battle with the heat and drought is severe. The whole area is poor in natural resources and therefore hardly suitable to become the seat of a strong political state.

The Hebrews, a branch of the great Semitic race, had come into the locality some nine to twelve hundred years before our story opens. They were then desert nomads following their flocks and herds from grassland to grassland. To them, no doubt, the better watered hills and valleys were a promised hand indeed -- a land of milk and honey. And so they crowded in, gradually destroying or absorbing the older Canaanitic civilization already occupying the locality. Here they built their cities and developed their civilization.

From the beginning they were destined to have a turbulent

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Down on the maritime plain lay the great caravan routes -- the high-ways of communication and commerce. In the coastal and near-coastal cities, the ends of the world met to traffic in goods and ideas. Over these same highways marched the armies of the world -- marched, met, fought, and exacted tribute. Judaea was a bit to one side, protected some by her hills, but near enough for much traffic to find its way to her markets and located stratigically enough to be coveted by the greater powers. Again and again she saw her cities burned, her people killed or sold into slavery, and felt the awful burden of a crushing tribute laid upon her. But even so, she lived on, gathering up the pieces after each crushing disaster and building anew on the old foundations, often rearing a greater, nobler work than the one she had lost.

During the eleventh century the Hebrew tribes, which until now had been very loosely organized, united to repell the Philistine invasion, and out of that struggle came the monarchy under the leadership of Samuel, Saul, and David. Their civilization was solidifying into a more permanent form. It remained to be seen whether or not it would be able to withstand the degenerating influences of city life, or whether it would become corrupted like so many others. Perhaps at this time the issues were doubtful. However, these people had brought with them from the desert some great principles which were destined to influence their whole history.

Perhaps the most important of these was the idea that

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they were a people of one god, Yahweh. This god was a "jealous" deity demanding the first, if not the only place in their thinking, and forbidding absolutely the worship of any image representing himself. This meant that they were moving away from polytheism and idolatry toward monotheism.

closely associated with this was the idea of the "Covenant." Yahweh had chosen them for himself, brought them out of the land of Egypt and had entered into covenant agreement with them whereby he would be their God and they would be his people. This laid the foundation for a form of constitutional government which was destined to have tremendous significance not only in the history of Israel, but also in the history of the world.

Another element of great significance which they brought from the desert was a strong sense of democracy and equality. All desert people are democratic. The individual is absolutely subject to the will of the group, but within the group he is on equal level with all others. Israel never wholly forgot her heritage. A sense of democracy and worth of the individual runs throughout her history.

Closely allied with their belief in Yahweh was their priestly-ceremonial system. This centered in the Tabernacle and consisted of a few feasts, particularly those of the new moons and the Passover, the Sabbath Day, the rites of circumcision and animal sacrifice. The whole was controlled by an hereditary priesthood. With the rise of the monarchy, the influence, though not the office, of the priest-hood diminished, the duties of the priests being limited to religious

matters only. Under Solomon there was built at Jerusalem a royal sanctuary which took the place of the tabernacle, and which eventually became one of the most important elements of Hebrew religion. As we shall see later. Judaism revolved about the temple.

During the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries, the prophets purged Hebrew religion of many corrupting influences and led it on toward high ethical monotheism. They fought the impurity of the high-places and eventually won. They fought Baalism and saved Yah-weh-worship. They matched their God against the gods of their enemies and thus prepared the way for a concept of universal monotheism. They worked incessantly for purity, righteousness, justice, and loyalty to Yahweh. It is to these fearless preachers and seers that the world is forever indebted for these mighty principles.

In 597 B. C., and again in 586 B. C., the little kingdom of Judah was conquered by the mighty Babylon, and its people carried away into exile. By every precedent of the ancient world, this should have meant the destruction of their religion, for no nation had ever before retained its faith in the gods who had failed to protect it against deportation by its enemies. Deportation meant annihilation of nationality and of gods. But with these people it was different.

Out in a foreign land they came into a new appreciation of their religious heritage. They saw polytheism and idolatry at close range and turned forever to their one god, Yahweh -- universal and eternal. Monotheism became a fact in Jewish religion. Away from the temple they learned to worship without it, and it is quite probable

that they began to develop the idea of the synagogue during this period. In an effort to retain their nationality, they began to place great emphasis on certain religious rites, -- sabbath observance, circumcision, the keeping of the Torah, i. e., Law, et cetera. They became a "peculiar people" held together by the bonds of high ethical religion.

They did not, upon their return to Judaea, re-establish the monarchy but remained a province of Persia. As such, they were under the jurisdiction of the provincial governor whose main duty was to preserve the peace of his province and collect the taxes.

Local affairs were in the hands of the people. Being, as we have noted, held together by religious interests, it is not surprising to find that they developed an ecclesiastical form of government. The high priest became the local head and was almost absolute in his authority. Associated with him were the aristocratic nobles, themselves closely related to the high-priestly family, and composing what is commonly referred to as "the elders of Israel." The rebuilt temple was the center of the "nation," and the lives of the people revolved about it.

It was under Ezra that Judaism, as such, was born. There was current in Israel the conviction that the Exile had been visited upon the nation as punishment for the failure to keep the Law. The way to prevent a similar calamity in the future was to be diligent in the observance of the Law of Yahweh. Ezra, a priest, devoted himself

¹ The question regarding the historicity of the Ezra story is too long

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to the task of establishing the Torah in Judaea. Under his leadership the people adopted it as a way of life, withdrew from all intimate contact with the neighboring peoples and became a "separate" and "peculiar people". devoted to the worship of Yahweh. They became very exclusive. Even the marriages with foreigners were annulled, and the custom of inter-racial marriages prohibited. We read in Ezra, "Now therefore make confession unto Jehovah, the God of your fathers. and do his pleasure; and separate yourselves from the peoples of the land, and from the foreign women." And again, in Nehemiah, "And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all foreigners, and stood and confessed their sins, and the iniquities of their fathers." The reason for this, it should be noted, was not on grounds of blood-relationship, but rather on religious grounds. It was feared, and justifiably so, that the children of the mixed homes would be careless about observing the Law. It was not superiority of blood, but purity of ideals for which they were concerned. That they succeeded is proved by the testimony of history, part of which we shall herein recount.

Herbert Loewe defines Judaism as follows: "It may be said
. . . . that the foundation of Judaism rests on two principles -- the
unity of God and the choice of Israel. Judaism denounces idolatry and
polytheism. It believes that this world is good, and that man is
capable of perfection. He possesses free will and is responsible for

to discuss here. We assume it is essentially true.

² Ezra 10:11.

³ Nehemiah 9:2.

³a Hasting's, ERE, Vol. VII, p. 581.

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his actions. Judaism rejects any Mediator and any cosmic force for evil. Man is free; he is not subject to Satan; nor are the material gifts of life inherently bad; wealth may be a blessing as well as a curse. Man is made in the image of God; therefore he is noble like the rest of the divine work. For this reason all men are equally brothers. Just as they were united in the beginning, so will they be drawn together again at the end of time. They will be brought near to the Kingdom of Heaven by the aid of Israel. This is the function of Judaism — to spread peace and goodwill throughout the world."

Its cardinal principles were monotheism, purity, righteousness, and justice. In comparison with these, all other claims of
life were secondary. Any system which disregarded any one of them was
doomed to rejection by Judaism regardless of what other advantages it
might offer. It was at this point that Hellenism failed. She disregarded these, and Judaism chose to die, if need be, rather than be
untrue to her greatest heritage.

As we shall see later, much of the great struggle centered around more external elements such as the sacredness of the temple and its vessels, the right to keep the Sabbath, the right of sacrifice and of circumcision, the appointment of the high priest, et cetera. A superficial reading of history might lead us to conclude that the Jews were struggling for these non-essentials, -- and perhaps they were. It is hard, in the heat of strife to differentiate between essentials and non-essentials. Indeed, it is hard to make that differentiation anytime. It is difficult for the human heart to give up the

symbols of its faith without losing the faith for which the symbols stand. Hence, when the Jews fought for these externals, they were, in reality, fighting for their faith in the cardinal principles so essential to man's higher life.

Chapter II

HELLENI SM

About the time the Hebrews were crowding into the land of Canaan, or perhaps a few centuries earlier, another nomadic, shepherd people from the steppe-lands of central Asia were crowding into the lower part of the territory we now call the Balkan Peninsula.

By sheer force of numbers they overwhelmed the highly developed Aegean civilization then located there, and settled down in its place. In time they absorbed much of that older culture and amalgamated with the remmant of its people. The result was one of the most highly gifted races in history. We know them as the "Greeks"; they called themselves by the much more poetical name of "Hellenes." It is from this name that we derive the term "Hellenism" and apply it to the culture and civilization developed by this people.

For a thousand years or more, these people tended their flocks, cultivated the fertile valleys, built their mud and stone villages, offered sacrifices to their gods -- content amid the rugged beauty of their peninsular home. Gradually they learned to sail, took over the islands of the Aegean Sea and in time were competing with the Phoenicians for the commerce of the Mediterranean. They had begun early in their history to push back their horizons.

The land in which they settled is one of the most picturesque in the world. Rugged mountains cut sharply with irregular valleys, long fingers of the sea pushing far into the inland, the sea

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itself dotted with many islands, and the whole covered with a sky
of the richest blue -- it was a land where beauty was natural and
its cultivation easy.

But the irregular nature of the land did not lend itself to the development of a unified civilization. Indeed, it prevented any such unity, and in the place of a centralized, correlated nation growing up in this locality, there came into existence the unique system known as the "city-state." This was exactly what the name implies -- a city, independent of all outside control, and itself controlling only the immediate territory about it. Each city had its own army, laws, gods, and governing body elected by the citizens. When necessary or desirable, these cities could and often did cooperate, but they never surrendered their independence willingly.

Such a system had its very great advantages for the individual in that it fostered the development of a sense of freedom and responsibility. Any large political state tends to submerge the individual and suppress his freedom. The Greek city-state was small enough for the individual to retain the sense of his own importance and worth, and yet it commanded his loyalty and devotion. He was a part of the state -- a citizen -- and as such, had a voice in the affairs of state. At the same time, he expected and received of the state certain very definite and tangible returns, such as protection, justice, entertainment, freedom, and the like. The city encouraged education and gave him a chance for self-expression and individual achievement in the public debate, and on the athletic field and battle-ground. The result was that the spirit of the individual was liberated

THE LEADER WAS TRANSPORTED BY A RESIDENCE OF THE RESIDENC

from many of the superstitions which bound the lesser races of mankind. Even the mysteries of nature could not humble him. He matched himself against the wonders about him, and to his delight they bowed and yielded their secrets to him. The sense of freedom liberated his intellect and nature unlocked her mysteries.

The result was that in every realm of human experience the Greeks achieved distinction. Nearly every branch of modern learning and invention was foreshadowed by them. In art and architecture and in language they attained the acme of success. In science, mathematics, music, poetry, drama, medicine, astronomy, philosophy, political science — these people made significant contributions of human advancement. The result was the development of one of the most brilliant civilizations the world has seen.

It was in the idea of freedom and his loyalty to the state that the Greek differed most widely from the Oriental. Professor Bevan, in his House of Seleucus describes the latter as follows:

It was under these circumstances (i.e., 'unprogressive despotism') that the character we now describe as "Oriental" was developed. To the husbandman or
merchang it never occurred that the work of government
was any concern of his; he was merely a unit in a great
aggregate, whose sole bond of union was its subjection
to external authority; for him, while kings went to war,
it was enough to make provision for himself and his
children in this life, or make sure of good things in the
next, and let the world take its way. It was not to be
wondered at that he came to find the world uninteresting
outside his own concerns -- his bodily wants and his
religion. He had to submit perforce to whatever violence
or exactions the king or his ministers chose to put upon

¹ Vol. I, p. 5.

him; he had no defence but concealment; and he developed the bravery, not of action, but of endurance, and an extraordinary secretiveness. He became the Oriental whom we know.

Contrasted to this attitude was that of the freedomloving Greek. He was different. He had a self-respect which led
him to hold his head up even in the presence of kings. He had energy
and will-power and initiative. His inner spirit was free, and it
was not long before the Oriental leaders were employing him to do
their fighting for them. With the Greek something new was born into
the world -- the intelligent human spirit balanced with a keen sense
of proportion, free from deadening superstitions and having a sense
of its own supreme worth. For this all mankind is debtor.

There was, however, one great weakness about Hellenic civilization -- namely the religion. Originally, the Greeks were polytheists, and they never wholly outgrew the superstition. When, the development of their intellect and freedom enabled them to view their religion critically, many of them rejected the gods, but they were never able to achieve a view of ethical monism. They had philosophers but not religious and moral prophets. The result was that in their search for spiritual satisfaction and assurance many turned to magic and idolatry. Men hungry for God were willing to accept anything which promised to lead them to Him. Hellas, therefore, was fertile ground for oriental religions of every color and shade. In the triad of Truth, Beauty, and Holiness, the last was weak, lamentably weak.

Renan puts the case thus:

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The period of which we treat was indeed a critical moment in the history of mankind. The foundation was already laid for science, philosophy, ethics, politics, the military art, medicine, and law. There was but one leak, through which destruction was to make its way. Greece was weak as to her religion. She cherished all the childish beliefs, even such as destroyed man's very manhood, and like Italy after the Renaissance, she throve by the gainful falsehood . . . Greece saw that the gods of the vulgar had no existence, but she employed her art in the service of a brilliant idolatry . . . The sages of old saw the truth, but they confessed it not. They were too aristocratic, too artistic. Satisfied to see it themselves, they left the religion of the people in its degradation. They cared little, it may be, for questions affecting the well-being of the whole people, or for morality. They had not enough of what the prophets in Israel had in excess. They had no interest in the common people.

We noted above that Jewish life and ideals revolved about the temple. In Greek cities life revolved about the gymnasium, stadium, hippodrome, and theater. The gymnasium was as much a part of a Greek city as the synagogue was of a Jewish community. Here the young men met for physical exercise and competition. Because they were absolutely frank about everything natural, nudity was very common. Here the old men congregated for discussion and social intercourse. Here men learned the latest news, discussed the political situation, talked of philosophy, war, art, poetry, or religion, as mood or fancy dictated. The gymaasium was an essential part of a Greek city.

closely allied with the gymnasium was the stadium where athletic contests were held. Horse racing was not at all uncommon,

¹ Renan, History of the People of Israel, Vol. IV, pp. 173, 174.

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and hence many towns had hippodromes. Betting on races was customary. The theater was common. Here were enacted mighty dramas, and light farces, great tragedies, and crude comedies and burlesques. The theater was as popular as it is today, and just about as distracting.

It was during the fourth century that Macedonia took over the leadership of the Greek world. Greek influence had already penetrated wide areas of the civilized world, and the time was ripe for Greek leadership. Had the Greek cities been able to unity in a union strong enough to lead the world, their contribution might very well have been even greater than it was. But petty loyalties prevented this. It remained for an outside nation, Macedonia, to force the union and supply the leadership and give Hellenism to the world.

The Macedonians were not, in the strict sense of the term, Greeks, though they were closely related to them. They were, no doubt, a later branch of the same people who had originally come from the steppe-lands of Asia. Through the centuries they had retained much of the primitive freedom and essential unity which had been sacrificed by the Greeks. Macedonia had a democratic monarchy — the king being elected by his "Companions" in arms. There were assemblies of the fighting men at which time policies of government were discussed, and yet in matters of foreign policy and national defense the king was almost absolute. This system gave the Macedonians a potential leadership unattained by the Greek cities.

Although Macedonia had not developed a culture and a

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civilization equal to that of Greece, still she had absorbed much from her Hellenic neighbors. She had sent her youths to the Greek cities for education and had employed Greek teachers to come to Macedonia to instruct her youths. Alexander was trained by none less than Aristotle himself. Macedonia had drunk deeply at the Greek fountain of learning and found the water sweet and invigorating. It is not surprising, therefore, that Alexander and his followers were ardent missionaries for Hellenism.

However, the Hellenism they took to the Orient was of necessity a modified brand. We noted above that the essential unit of Greek political structure was the city-state of which the individual felt himself to be a definite part, and to which he owed his devotion and allegiance. It was a small pliable organization, easily comprehended by the individual. The new Greek kingdoms established in Egypt and Asia were absolute monarchies with strong central governments in which the individual soon became lost. Particularly was this true in Egypt where the Ptolemies were absolute. In the Kingdom of the Seleucids it was practically true, though it is to the credit of the rulers of this country that they tried to encourage the organization of city-states subject to the crown. Their success was very limited.

The authority of these Oriental monarchies rested not on the vote of the people or army, but rather on the right of conquest and the power of the king. He had conquered, or inherited a conquered territory, and he held it, primarily, by force alone. It was in the --

hopes of finding some other basis for this authority that the kings turned to "emperor-worship." If they could throw about themselves the mantle of deity, their subjects would find it easier to be loyal to them. Very few if any of them took deification seriously. It was a political expedient only -- a kind of glorified patriotism. To the oriental, and also to the Greek, such a gesture was not offensive. One or two gods never disturbed anyone -- escept the Jew. To him the idea was unthinkable. The monarch usually adopted some kind of a name indicative of the spirit of helpfulness he was supposed to show to his subjects -- Soter, the Saviour; Euergetes, the benefactor, being examples. These names, no doubt, lent prestige to the position of the king.

In one other serious respect the Hellenism of the later monarchies differed from that of the days of Pericles and Aristotle — it was in many ways inferior. To a large extent, the creative flame had waned. What the Seleucids spread through Asia was not the free spirit which had created the culture, but the culture itself.

Not that this is to be condemned, for Hellenism came as a great blessing to the world and did modify life and help free the human mind wherever it went. But the creative glow had departed, and what was taken to Asia was only an imitation of the original, and was often shabbily superficial.

Chapter III

EXTERNAL HISTORY FROM 404 B. C. to 198 B. C.

The gratitude felt by the Jews toward the Persians when allowed to return home to Jerusalem can better be imagined than described. Such generosity on the part of a monarch was unknown in their world and called forth their unswerving loyalty. The central and provisional governments were strong, the petty quarrels among the little nations of the empire — including those in southern Palestine — were held in check. A rude but sure peace fostered peaceful and gainful occupations. The community at Jerusalem was probably quite happy in its own little sphere revolving about the temple.

From 404 to 358, however, under the reign of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), Persian control relaxed, and the provinces enjoyed a very wide latitude of freedom. In this the Jews shared. It is quite probable that the dreams of world dominion, and in all probability those of national independence, revived. They began to expand their influence to the north and northwest and even succeeded in attaching some new territory to their small state.

In 358, upon the death of his father, Artaxerxes III

[Ochus] seized the Persian throne. Energetic, shrewd, unscrupulous,
cruel, "his reign was the bloodiest in Persian history." He did much
to revive the crumbling authority of Persia, but he also alienated
many of the subject nations. From 350 to 343 the whole western part

Charles Foster Kent, A History of the Jewish People, during the Babylonian, Persian, and Grecian Periods, p. 229.

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of his dominion, including the Jews, was in revolt against him. He succeeded in suppressing it, and true to his nature poured out his vengeance in an awful exhibition of cruelty and destruction. The Jewish records are silent at this point, but in all probability Jerusalem fell with a great loss of life and property. Any shreds of tattered loyalty to Persia remaining in the hearts of the Jews were converted into the bitterest hatred. The Persian empire had lost its chance at life. It was corrupt and decadent and was destined to stand only a few years longer.

In 334 there appeared within its territory a new force destined to conquer it completely. This force was Graeco-Macedonian under the leadership of the young Alexander. Of all the phenomenal campaigns of history, this is one of the most spectacular. In 334 Alexander defeated the Persians in the Battle of the Granicus. In 333 he again defeated their forces in the Battle of Issus and refused Darius III's offer of peace with control of all the territory west of the Euphrates. He turned south and made his way rapidly down the coast to Tyre, where he was compelled to wait while he besieged that city for seven months. After its fall he swept on to Gaza where he was again compelled to stop two months before mastering that city. Continuing south he was soon master of Egypt and ready to go elsewhere.

Josephus tells us that it was while Alexander was besieging Tyre that he "sent letters to the Jewish high priest, bidding him
send him some auxiliaries, and supply his army with provisions; and
henceforth to pay to him the tribute he had formerly paid to Darius.

and to choose the friendship of the Macedonians for he should never repent of so doing. But the high priest answered the letter--carriers that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him, and he would not break his word while Darius was in the land of the living."

Josephus adds that this refusal angered Alexander, but it is just as probable that it commended the Jews to him, for it testified to their loyalty, once it should be won. It was while Alexander was besieging Gaza that the Jews sent a delegation to him offering their surrender and obeisance.

and worshipped in the temple, but this is now discredited by most historians. It does, however, indicate, that there was no ill feeling on the part of the Jews for this new conqueror. Indeed, their lot as a subject nation probably changed very little. The high priest, Jaddua, continued as head of the local affairs subject to the Greek armies. Probably about the same tribute formerly paid to Persia was demanded by the Greeks.

Leaving Egypt Alexander started eastward on one of the most brilliant conquests of all time. Within a period of ten years he was master of the entire area west of the Indus river. This vast region he organized under governors loyal to him and his ideals.

Alexander himself was a pupil of none less than Aristotle, and under such a teacher "his whole personality (became) imbued with the splen-

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XI, 8, 3.

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dor of Greek genius and Hellenic culture." It was the dream of his life that his empire should have the benefits of this higher civilization. To this end he founded cities and reorganized old ones, planted colonies of Greeks in strategic places and encouraged commerce and social intercourse among peoples and nations. In Egypt he founded the city of Alexander, settling it with Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. In Samaria, the coast towns and in the cities across the Jordan he established Greeks and Macedonians. The whole of Palestine was filled with Greeks and Greek influence -- though it should be noted that no colonists were placed in Jerusalem.

Alexander died in 323, in Babylon, leaving only an unborn son as heir to his vast dominion. Had there been someone among his generals strong enough to lead the others, history would, no doubt, have been vastly different. As it was, jealousy and personal ambition prevented any such unified action. A farcical attempt at cooperation postponed open fighting for a little while, but in 322 warfare broke out among the various factions. Among those contending for supremacy were Antigonus and Antipater; Perdiccas and Craterus; Ptolemy and Seleuccus; and Eumenes and Lysemachus, each dreamed of carving as large an empire for himself as he could -- Antigonus fondly hoping and desperately attempting to make himself master of the whole.

By 315, the situation had somewhat changed, and the number of contestants was reduced to four: Antigonus, controlling the territory from the Mediterranean to central Asia; Cassander, the son of

¹ J. H. Breasted, Ancient Times: a History of the Early World, p. 429.

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Antipater, supreme in Macedonia; Ptolemy, ruler of Egypt and southern Syria, and with him Seleucus, his general; and Lysimachus, in Thrace. To check the ambitions of Antigonus, the others combined their interests. In 312, Ptolemy and Seleucus defeated the army of Antigonus under his son, Demetrius, in a battle fought near Gaza. Ptolemy immediately pressed forward and took complete control of Coele-Syria. It was at this time that he visited Jerusalem and carried away many Jews as captives, settling them in various parts of his domain. The same year, however, Ptolemy was driven out of Syria by Antigonus, who again took over that area and held it till his death.

In 311, Seleucus seized and held Babylonia setting himself up as an independent ruler. This made Antigonus's position
doubly difficult, for it increased his opponents to four instead of
three. For several years, Antigonus played his cards well. He kept
Seleucus and Ptolemy from joining forces and thus kept control of
most of his Asiatic territory.

In 302, however, the situation changed. Seleucus, Lysemachus, and Cassander came to grips with Antigonus. Ptolemy was in
the same alliance, but he held aloof for awhile, waiting to see how
the tide turned. In the Battle of Ipsus, Phrygia, 301, Antigonus was
killed and his army completely defeated. In the division of his
empire it had been agreed that Ptolemy was to receive Coele-Syria, but
since he had not supported the others in battle, they proceeded to disregard him in the division of the spoils. Coele-Syria was given to
Seleucus. But Ptolemy was not so easily ignored -- he had already

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moved into the disputed territory -- and when Seleucus came down from the "peace conference," he found his old friend strongly entrenched.

Not wishing to break this old-time friendship, and perhaps not wishing at that moment to come to grips with one so powerful as the king of Egypt, he quietly postponed action, though he did not renounce his claim to the disputed territory -- an important fact for later generations. He contented himself with strengthening his possessions which now stretched from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Like other Greeks, he was keenly interested in the spread of Greek culture and to that end continued the practice of his predecessors of colonization and founding and reorganizing cities. It was under his direction that Antioch on the Orontes, in Syria, was founded and made the capital of his vast empire.

Phoenicia was at that time in the hands of Demetrius, ruler of Macedonia. It was not long, however, before he was displaced by Ptolemy, and since no one seemed to care to engage in war, life settled down to a precarious peace. For the next eighty years, in spite of all efforts on the part of the Seleucids to gain control, the Ptolemies held Palestine.

Chapter IV

THE JEWS AND THE PTOLEMIES

We noted above that the coming of the Greeks probably affected the Jews very little. But in the great struggles of the third century over possession of Coele-Syria, they were not so fortunate. In 312 Ptolemy I (Lagi) seized Jerusalem. Of this Josephus says: "He also seized upon Jerusalem through deceit and treachery: for as he entered the city upon a Sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he took the city without any trouble as the Jews did not suspect him to be their enemy, and they spent that day always in rest and quietness, and when he had made himself master of it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner." He took 'many captives both from the mountain (rural) parts, and Samaria, and Mount Gerizim, (and) he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there." Josephus tells us that he gave these captives equal rights with Macedonians. It seems a bit unlikely that this was done at once, but that it is true in substance is proved by the fact that it was not long before other Jews went to Egypt of their own free will being attracted by the greater advantages offered by that locality.

Indeed, throughout the Ptolemaic era, the flesh-pots of

Egypt were a great temptation to the Jews. They and the Samaritans

were so completely denationalized that they found it easy to give their

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XII, 1.

² Ibid.

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loyalty to any master who treated them at all justly, — in this instance, the Ptolemies. Their habit of fidelity to their oath won for them positions of honor, privilege, and responsibility, and from this time on, we find Jews occupying places of power and influence in the land of the Nile.

Little is known of Jewish history during the era under the Ptolemies. As we shall see later, several "books" of the Old Testament and some other writings came into being during this time, but they throw little light on the age. It is particularly noteworthy, however, that Daniel mentions no tyranny during this period. Josephus helps us some, and Ecclesiasticus, written in the middle of the third century, gives us a little more information.

One worthy name stands out among the Jews -- the high priest, Simeon the Just. We cannot, however, be certain "whether this was Simeon I, who lived during the middle of the third century, or 1 Simeon II, whose date is somewhere about 200 B. C." The remarkable description of a Simeon given in Ecclesiasticus 50:1-24 does not help us decide. It does, however, give us something of an insight as to the form of government during this period. "In his life he (the high priest, Simeon) . . . strengthened the temple." He gave his attention to the water supply of the city, "and fortified the walls of the city against besieging." Ben Sirach then gives a grand description

¹ Oesterley, A History of Israel, p. 198.

² Ecclesiasticus 50:1

³ Ibid., 50:3

⁴ Ibid., 50:4

of this Simeon officiating in the temple as high priest. (Incidentally, this word-picture gives us some idea of the worship of that day.)

government, charged with the care of the city and the conduct of public worship. It is quite probable that he was charged with the responsibility of collecting and paying the tribute. It also seems quite probable that if this were paid regularly and no rebellion or riot drew the attention of the Egyptians, the Jews enjoyed wide liberty and comparative peace. Indeed, Josephus tells us that Ptolemy II (Philadelphia) freed the Jewish slaves in his empire and admitted those who wished to join his army. Energetes was also very 2 friendly.

There is another story related by Josephus, which, although highly colored with fiction, contains some truth and throws some light on conditions of this period. This is the story of the tax-collector Joseph. According to the account of the high priest, Onias (probably Onias II, 221-203) failed to satisfy the Egyptian court regarding tribute. A representative of the Egyptian court came to the city to collect, if necessary, by force. Joseph, of the family of Tobiad, nephew of the high priest, got permission from that worthy (or unworthy) to confer with the Egyptian ambassador. He immediately paid the sum demanded and then ingratiated himself in the eyes of the

¹ Antiq., XII, 2, 5.

² Josephus, Against Apion, II, 5.

³ Antiq., XII. 4.

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Egyptian by presenting him personally with some fine gifts. He then obtained considerable wealth from his friends, and went to Egypt to bid for the position of tax-collector for the province of Coele-Syria. Through a series of bold affronteries and daring bribes, he persuaded none less than Ptolemy himself to appoint him to the coveted position. Backed by a good sized military unit he proceeded to collect what he wanted from whom he would. For twenty years he fleeced the province and built for himself an immense personal fortune. It is very probable that the prestige enjoyed by the family of Tobiad in the next generation was largely due to the fortune and favor accumulated by this unscrupulous tax-collector.

system of tax collection in the Ptolemaic empire to have been that of "farming out" the various provinces to the highest bidder. It also sheds light upon the Jewish factions of this and the following generation. Here we see that the house of Oniad, in control of the high priesthood, is related through the marriage of a sister of the high priest to the rival house of Tobiad. Joseph, by virtue of his position as provincial tax-collector is equal or perhaps superior to the high priest. This throws some light on the quarrels within Judaism during the next generation.

The Jews of this period seem to have been little affected, outwardly, with Greek thought. The Ptolemies seem to have made no attempt to "Hellenize" the province of Judaea. The worship and customs at Jerusalem went on undisturbed. There was, therefore, no

outburst of patriotism or religious fanaticism during this period.

The Greek language was the official language of government, and it was not long before it ceased to be unfamiliar in the city of Jerusalem. With the language came ideas, and it is generally agreed that some of the writings of this period show some evidence of Greek influence. Particularly is this true of the wisdom literature, where religion blends quickly with rational conclusions and moral precepts, and where it loses some of its former fervor and majestic spirituality. (But more of this later.) In Alexandria, the sacred scriptures of the Jews were translated into Greek, giving the world the Septuagint. The impregnable wall about Judaism was beginning to loosen under the warm sunshine of Hellenism.

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Chapter V

THE SELEUCIDS TAKE OVER PALESTINE

In 223, Antiochus III (the Great), one of the ablest rulers of the Syrian Empire, succeeded his brother, Seleucus III. He was only eighteen years of age at that time, but already he had had some experience in governing, for he had been appointed by his brother governor of Babylon. With him a new chapter in the history of the East begins. His first task was to crush a revolt in the eastern part of his empire. This done, in the summer of 221, he invaded Coele-Syria but was turned back by the Egyptian military force stationed in the Marsyas valley near Lebanon.

In 221, there came to the Egyptian throne one of the worst of the Ptolemies -- Philopator. Had he not been supported most loyally by some able ministers, it is probable that he would have lost Coele-Syria early in his reign. For Antiochus was determined to have it. In 219 he again invaded it, but hearing a rumor that the Egyptians had a strong force ready to meet him at Pelusium, he agreed to a truce and withdrew. The next year he again made an attempt to conquer it and had wide success. In 217, however, he was disastrously defeated near Raphia by the Egyptians under command of Sosibus.

Affairs of state and disturbances in other parts of his kingdom prevented, for some years, another attempt. In 203, Ptolemy IV (Philopator) died leaving his throne to his four year old son, Ptolemy V (Epiphanes). The time was now ripe for Antiochus III, and in 202 he started south. It was not an easy victory, but in 201-200 the

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Egyptians were defeated in the battle of Panion, near Mount Hermon, and in 199 Scopas, who had fled to Zidon, surrendered to the Syrians. This destroyed the Egyptian power in the province, and it was taken over by Antiochus III. It never again fell into the hands of Egypt, and although in 193 Antiochus III gave the taxes as a dowry when his daughter married Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), he did not relinquish either his claim or his hold upon it.

In 190 Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia and was forced to pay a heavy tribute. From now on Roman influence was strong in Eastern Mediterranean political affairs. In 187 Antiochus III lost his life while trying to rob the temple of Belus, in Elymais. He was succeeded by his son, Seleucus IV (Philopator), a weak, luxury loving person whose primary political interests consisted in getting enough money to maintain his luxurious court and meet the heavy Roman tribute. He was succeeded by Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) in 175. However, before we turn our attention to him, let us retrace our steps and see what has been happening at Jerusalem during this period.

Chapter VI

THE JEWS FROM 221 B.C. TO 175 B.C.

During the great struggle over the possession of Coele-Syria, 221-199/8, Judaea seems to have suffered severely. Josephus tells us that during this period "the Jews as well as the inhabitants of Coele-Syria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harrassed . . both when he (Antiochus III) was beaten and when he was victorious, so that they were very like a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides. . . . " And in Daniel 11:14-16 we read how Antiochus III seized the land "with destruction in his hand." Very probably these reports are correct, for war is always destructive to life and property. The armies had to be fed and supplied, and it is certain that neither Egyptians nor Syrians would go to the expense of transporting materials from distant home bases if the cities or the country-side of the province had what was needed. Anything -- food. clothing, war equipment, men for the army, and women for lustful satisfaction -- would be taken whenever needed or coveted. Many fled the country to escape the danger.

Jerusalem probably remained loyal to Egypt until the victory of the Syrians in 199-198. Josephus tells us that while Samaria was being conquered, the Jews voluntarily surrendered to Antiochus III.

¹ Antig. XII. 3, 3

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

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and that during a visit of this monarch to Jerusalem, they supplied his army and elephants with "plentiful provision" and "readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison that had been left by Scopas (the Egyptian general) in the citadel of Jerusalem. For this they were rewarded by Antiochus. Josephus tells us that he issued a decree that "he thought it fit" to "bring those that have been dispersed abroad lack to the city." He helped repair the city, "which had been greatly injured by the reverses which have befallen its inhabitants." He made contributions to their sacrifices, ordered the temple completed, permitting the use of lumber from the royal forests, tax-free. He granted religious liberty to the Jews in the city of Jerusalem, and exempted the priests from taxation. He gave the city a three-year moratorium on taxes, "that the city may the sooner be inhabited." He granted freedom and restoration of all property to all who had been sold into slavery....

Josephus seems to be making the utmost of all the facts and traditions he has gathered and perhaps even supplementing them with his own imagination. However, there must be a large element of truth in what he tells us, for only so can we account for the later positions of Antiochus III in Jewish tradition. Then too, such a gesture of friendship would seem to fit well into the general purposes of the conqueror. Jerusalem was one of the outstanding strongholds in southern Palestine. It was, therefore, very much to the advantage of the Syrians

¹ Antiq. XII, 3, 3.

² Ibid.

to maintain not only a firm military hold, but also to win the loyalty and friendship of the inhabitants.

Life in Judaea probably adjusted itself quite readily to the new regime. Taxes, after the first three years were probably about the same as they had been, and so long as these were paid regularly, life, no doubt, went quietly and hopefully on. There was little in the new order to foreshadow the struggle which was to try the very life of Judaism in the next generation. Everything was peaceful again, and people were glad.

There were, in Jerusalem in this period, two general tendencies in Jewish life -- the conservative and the liberal. While it is, of course, impossible to separate them sharply, still we can see the effects of each in at least three realms of public interest. In the religious-political situation, there was the contest over the office of the high priest, -- the conservatives loyal to the house of Zadok (Oniad), and the liberals favoring some other party more friendly toward Hellenism. Internationally, the conservatives tended to be loyal to Egypt, while the liberals leaned strongly toward the new Syrian regime. And finally, in matters of cultural tastes, the conservative element frowned increasingly on the influx of Hellenism, while the liberals were increasingly in favor of it. If we keep these groups in mind, it will help us understand the complex situation which led eventually to the great rebellion under the Hasmonaean leaders in the 160's.

The struggle for the office of the high priesthood is a

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long and complicated story, but so vitally important that we must take time to review some of its various steps and consequences.

The law provided that the office of the high priest should be filled by the lineal descendants of the house of Zadok, and until the political situation under the Seleucids became somewhat intense, probably no one disputed this custom. Simon II, of the family of Oniad, was, at first, the rightful occupant of the office. He was supported by the two older sons of Joseph the tax-collector mentioned above. Opposed to this combination was the younger son of Joseph, half-brother to the other two, Hyrcanus by name. He withdrew to the Ammonite region of the Transjordania, probably the old habitation of the Tobiad family, built a strong fortress and further strengthened himself by making raids into the Arab territory.

When, upon the death of Simon II, his son Onias III

(Honya III) became high priest, the two elder Tobiads withdrew their support, and in their place we find Hyrcanus leagued with that office. It seems quite probable that this close connection with the Tobiads may have meant financial support, for under Onias III Hyrcanus deposited large sums in the temple treasury. For some reason, Onias drove the elder Tobiads from the city.

Onias III quarrelled with a certain Simon, of the tribe

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of Benjamin, holder of the office of prostates, over the control of

¹ No one seems to know just what the function of this office was.

II Macc. 3:4, however, refers to Simon as "guardian" and it has been suggested that he was probably in some way closely connected with the temple treasury.

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the city market. In the trouble that ensued, Simon went to Apollonius, governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia and told him that there were, in the temple in Jerusalem, untold sums of money. This information was relayed to the royal court at Antioch, and Seleucus IV dispatched his chief minister, Heliodorus, to Jerusalem to get it. Onias met him with courtesy and dignity and explained that the sum was really not large and that he could not surrender it. Not being satisfied, Heliodorus attempted to enter the sanctuary and take the treasury by force. Tradition has it that he was met by angels who beat him unconscious. that his followers carried him away on a stretcher and that he was so frightened that he recognized the sovereignty of Jehovah and reported to the court that it was utterly impossible to get the coveted wealth. What probably happened was that he was stopped by a wild mob of infuriated citizens. That he did not get the treasure is evident from the fact that it was there a few years later and taken by Antiochus IV. The episode is significant, for it is the first open clash of which we have record between the Jews and the Seleucids.

At last, the local situation got to the point where Onias III decided to appeal to the court for help. Consequently he made a journey to Antioch to see Seleucus IV about the matter. While he was in Antioch, Seleucus was murdered by his minister, the afore-mentioned Heliodorus, and before long Antiochus IV was in control. During the absence of Onias from Jerusalem, his brother Jason bribed the new king into appointing him high priest. Onias remained in Antioch where he quietly watched developments from a distance.

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This displacement of Onias by Jason is interesting from three or four viewpoints. -- For instance, it seems to be one of the very early acts of Antiochus IV, who was, as we shall see, the last man to understand the Jews. Indeed, this very act on his part started the trouble in Jerusalem. To Antiochus, no doubt, the office of high priest was merely that of local governor of Jerusalem, and as such wholly subject to his will. To the Jews, however, it was a sacred one to be filled according to the Law by the eldest male of the high-priestly family and by him alone. This interference with matters involving the Law aroused the deep antipathies of the Jews against Antiochus IV.

The whole episode is interesting because it seems to have been a quarrel wholly apart from religion. The Chasidim are not mentioned in the struggle between Onias and Jason. This, it would seem, suggests the secular functions of the office. It is further of interest because it reveals the tangled family and national loyalties involved. This can best be shown by the following diagram:

Conservative Party

Liberal Party

Onias III - recognized head of Egyptian sympathizers.

The two elder Tobiads

Pro-Seleucid in political interests.

Hyrcanus -- youngest Tobiad.

Jason -- Pro-Seleucid
Strongly Hellenistic
in taste and interest.

Jason was a strong Hellenistic sympathizer, a fact which may have much to do with his being appointed to succeed his pro-Egyptian brother. He began at once to convert Jerusalem into a Hellenistic city.

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He built a gymnasium which soon became popular. Even the priests neglected their temple duties to spend their time in this pagan place, and the young men of the city tried to conceal the fact of their circumcision. The Greek hat began to appear in the streets of Jerusalem and before long Jason registered the Jews as citizens of Antioch. So ardently Hellenistic was this new high priest that he sent the temple tax to Tyre as a sacrifice to Hercules. The bearers, however, diverted it from the pagan altar to the navy. It looked as though the older order was to be completely lost in this wave of paganism.

only externals, it must be remembered also that such externals have a subtle influence in moulding the thinking of people. When the office of high priest became a pawn of a foreign court and the whole thought of the people began to be influenced by the customs and dress of that court, the faithful became alarmed, and rightfully so. People are not quick to distinguish between the essential and non-essential. There was grave danger that they would discard not only the native head gear and dress, but also the sacred Law and Ideals as well. Many a Jewish father and mother must have viewed with deep alarm the attraction the new order had for their children. The time was critical and the deserving ones knew it, but the hour of the great crisis was yet to come. Men were not yet ready for an open break.

An office which can be bought by one can usually be bought

¹ II Macc. 4:19, 20.

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by another, and thus in a few years we see Jason displaced by Menelaus, brother of Simon (the above mentioned prostates). He had offered the corrupt Syrian court a little more money. But his appointment was an outrage to Jewish customs; he was not even a member of the high priestly family.

Menelaus had trouble raising the money he had promised and so removed some of the sacred vessels from the temple, giving them as a present to Andronicus, a high official of Antiochus IV, to win his favor at the court. Hearing of this, Onias III issued a strong rebuke at the court, to Menelaus. In return, Menelaus persuaded Andronicus to cause the death of Onias. With his death the family of Zadok, which had held the office since the days of Solomon, passed forever from Jewish life.

Menelaus seems to have had a small garrison of Greeks stationed in the citadel watching him. Some argument relative to money matters ensued between him and the commander, Sastratus, and both went to Antioch to settle the matter. In his absence, Menelaus left Lysimachus in charge at Jerusalem. Taking advantage of his opportunity, this unworthy stole more of the sacred vessels and precipitated a riot in which he lost his life. Infuriated by the weak unjust rule of Menelaus, the citizens petitioned the court for a change, only to be defeated by the bribery of the hated high priest.

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Chapter VII

THE STORM BREAKS

That we might better understand what happened in the stirring years from 170 on, let us return to the history of the Seleucid court. In 175, as we have noted, Seleucus IV (Philopator) was assassinated by the able prime minister, Heliodorus. There were four aspirants to the vacant throne: Demetrius, eldest son of Seleucus IV, at the time a hostage in Rome; Antiochus, a younger son of Seleucus IV, a baby in Syria; Antiochus (Epiphanes), probably about forty years old and living at the time in Athens; and lastly the ambitious Heliodorus. The prize went to Antiochus, who, with the aid of an army borrowed from Pergamum, seized the throne and set himself up as joint-king with the child Antiochus.

The character of this man is somewhat baffling to the historial, due to several conflicting reports about him. The writer of Daniel refers to him as a "contemptible person", but this hardly 2 does him justice. Professor Bevan tells us:

Energy we can see and ability, possibly some peculiar charm of manner, but a bonhomien manner which often concealed a hostile design, ia Bohemian curiosity to experience life in its diverse kinds, and unconventional familiarity which delighted in playing practical jokes upon solemn dignitaries, yet a ready interest in intellectual discussion . . . Above all, the theatrical discussion was strongly marked: Antiochus IV loved

^{1 11:21.}

² Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII, 498-99.

pageantry and the imposing external of things . . .

. . How far his philhellenic passion was a serious appreciation of what was valuable in Greek culture, how far a delight in its beautiful outside, we cannot know. We believe that in the vehement following of his caprices, his intolerance of control, he was essentially a tyrant in spite of all his republican freedom of manners.

He had come into intimate contact, while in Rome, with the men "in 1 whose hands the destiny of the world rested."

He had come into contact with a political system more vigorous and effective than that of Asiatic monarchy, and a new vigor and élan, as we say, marked his rule. He had consorted as an equal with his equals, and his character acquired a republican bent, his manner scandalized the court by its unceremonious freedom, its undignified familiarity. He had, besides that, violently caught the fashionable Hellenism with its republican ideals and shibboleths. (2)

But we do him and ourselves injustice if we conclude that he was a weakling. Although he was not as wise as he should have been, nevertheless he was capable and energetic. As we shall see, he invaded Egypt, a feat others had failed to accomplish. He prosecuted rebellions with vigor and resisted successfully encroachments of others upon his territory. Had he been as wise as he was capable, he would have been a great king.

About 172 trouble with Egypt developed. Cheopatra I, sister of Seleucus IV, queen regent of Egypt and a sympathizer with the Seleucid empire, died, and the Egyptian throne was seized by two "creatures" of barbarian background, Eulaeus and Lenaeus. They at once prepared to advance against Antiochus IV. Hearing of their scheme, this

¹ Bevan, The House of Seleucus, II, 128.

² Ibid., 128-129.

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monarch at once moved his forces south to Joppa. War, however, did not develop, and before long Antiochus returned to Antioch.

In 169 Antiochus was called to Tarsus and Mallus to settle a dispute between these cities, and while absent from court, left Andronicus in charge of the Government and of the boy-king, coruler with Antiochus IV. Andronicus had the boy killed, much to the outrage of the populace. Antiochus returned, claimed his innocence and had Andronicus put to death. Whether or not he was innocent will probably never he known. Heliodorus had since ceased to be of any political significance, and the only other claimant of the throne was the hostage Demetrius. This left Antiochus IV the undisputed ruler.

In the summer of 169 Egypt started action against Palestine. Sending his minister of finance to Rome to persuade the Senate by argument and bribery that Egypt was the aggressor, Antiochus met the Egyptian army, defeated it and then invaded Egypt. The young Ptolemy VI (Philometer) attempted to escape, but fell into the hands of Antiochus. The Anexandrians then put a younger brother on the throne (Ptolemy, Euergetes II), and Antiochus IV set himself up as champion of the rightful heir. Leaving him as king in Memphis, Antiochus withdrew to his own land, leaving a strong force in Pelusium, the northern-most boundary of Egypt, and her northern-most stronghold. In 168 the two brothers got together and decided to rule jointly. Fearing lest Egypt should become strong enough to menace his empire, Antiochus again invaded the valley of the Nile. This time he was told by a Roman legate to withdraw. Being thus frustrated in his plans, he

turned back north in a sullen mood, ready to vent his feelings on anyone or anything. It happened this time to be Jerusalem.

Antiochus' first visit to Jerusalem was in the summer of 172-171 while he was encamped at Joppa. He was royally received and no immediate harm resulted to the city from the visit. During the Egyptian campaign of 169 it was rumored in Jerusalem that Antiochus was dead. Jason, who had fled to Ammonite territory when Menelaus outbid him for the high priesthood, now returned to seize the office. No doubt, he counted on the support of the populace, for Menelaus, as we have seen, was exceedingly unpopular. Riot and fighting ensued, which appeared to Antiochus to be rebellion. He concluded that Jerusalem was pro-Egyptian. On his return from the southland he turned aside to settle the matter and to confirm again Menelaus's appointment. It was at this time that he seized the temple treasury, which he probably felt was rightfully his. Was he not Epiphanes, -- God-manifest? As such, did he not have a right to take that which was in the temples of his realm? Certainly he did not mean that his act should be construed as an attack upon the religion of the Jews. But the Jews did so interpret it. From now on their feelings of hatred toward Antiochus were at white heat, and the province of Judaea was in a state of seething unrest.

Until his forced withdrawal from Egypt in 168, Antiochus seems to have given little thought to the Jewish question. Jerusalem was merely one of many cities which from time to time caused trouble.

Now, however, when it appeared that Egypt was again to become a strong

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nation, Jerusalem and the other cities of southern Palestine assumed a much more significant place in the Seleucid empire. The security of the province of Coele-Syria rested largely on their loyalty. They nust be held at any cost, and there was no room for disloyalty. It was therefore with vengeance and determination that Antiochus gave his attention to this troublesome city in the hill-country above Joppa.

For six or seven years the city had been causing trouble.

They had refused to accept Menelaus, the royal appointee to the office of high priest. This opposition was a direct challenge to the royal will. Wasn't the office of high priest the highest local office in the city, and therefore, wasn't it the king's privilege to fill it with his own chosen appointee? Refusal to accept the king's choice could mean but one thing --- a defiance of royal power. The idea of a loyalty to any Power greater than the state was utterly unknown to Antiochus ---- unknown and inconceivable. Wasn't he himself God-manifest? What Law could be more divine and authoritative than his own? Surely the law of the divine state -- of which he was head -- must take precedence over any little insignificant Law of the people living in the hills of Judaea! When its refusal to accept his authority was linked with proEgyptian tendencies the situation became ten-fold more serious!

To his superficial way of thinking the refusal to accept Hellenic ways was mere stupidity. Loyalty to any Law other than his own was crude superstition. The way to counteract such dangerous non-

I do not think that the theory offered by many that Antiochus's attack on the Jews was due to his determination to Hellenize

sense was to eradicate it and force acceptance of the more "enlightened" way. "Of course, he had no conception of what the significance
l
of the Hebrew religion really was: he did not know what he was about."

It was probably sometime in 167 that he sent "Appolonius, 2 commander of the Mysian mercenaries", to deal with the situation. This leader "appeared before the city, but concealed his hostile intentions till he got a footing within, when he chose the occasion of the Sabbath day to set his troops upon the multitude." "And he fell upon the city suddenly, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people out of Israel. And he took the spoils of the city, and set it on fire, and pulled down the houses thereof and the walls thereof on every side. and they (his troops) led captive the women and children, and the cattle they took in possession."

They built a strong citadel, provisioned it and placed there "the sinful nation, transgressors of the Law . . . and they shed the innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary ... and the 3a 4a inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them. . . . " Oesterley is of the opinion that the "sinful nation" committing these outrages refers to the Jews who had embraced Hellenism. He points out that Antiochus IV did not begin the persecution of Jewish religion until after the Jews themselves had started this "civil war." When once he did begin it he did so with determination bordering fanaticism. Jewish cus-

his Kingdom is sufficient explanation for the events which follow.

The theory offered by Koble (see, Oesterley, op, cit., 223) to the
effect that Jerusalem now assumed a position of high military importance in southern Palestine is far more satisfactory. His efforts to Hellenize Judaea were incidental to his military purposes.

1-4 See next page.

toms such as Sabbath and feast observances, sacrifices, circumcision were prohibited on penalty of death. Pagan shrines were set up in all the cities and villages and the people ordered to worship at them. In 5 December, 167, an altar to Zeus, "the abomination of desolation" was erected in the sacred precincts of the temple, and here swine's flesh was offered!

It looked as though Judaism were utterly doomed. Many Jews felt their religion was not worth the price and submitted. But many others refused to yield and suffered death rather than bow to this heather religion. For the first time in history we see man and women dying for their religious faith. From now on the religious martyr is an historic figure.

¹ Cambridge, Ancient History, Vol. VIII, p. 507.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ I. Macc. I:30-32.

³a I. Macc. I:34-38.

⁴a Oesterley, p. 224. Op. cit.

⁵ Daniel 9:27, and 12:11.

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Chapter VIII

THE MACCABEES

It looked as though the cause were hopeless. How could such a little "nation" hope to withstand the cruel onslaughts of the mighty Antiochus Epiphanes? How could religion -- any religion -hope to resist such persecution? That the religion of Israel had withstood some severe trials in the past --- the conflict with Baal-worship, the worldly-spirit of the godless Manasseh, and even the Babylonian captivity --- was little comfort in this situation. Those were not severe persecuations directed at Yahweh-worship as such. True, Queen Jezebel would, had she been able, have forced all followers of Yahweh to worship the Baalim, but there was no widespread bloody suppression of the Yahweh cult at this time. The worst that can be said of Manasseh was that he was a licentious reactionary who retarded the spiritual development of his people. Even the Babylonian captivity was a political rather than a religious gesture, and the people in exile were given religious liberty. Here, however, worship of Yahweh was declared a crime. and the powerful Seleucid government determined to exterminate it. Things looked dark for the Jews. But God had not forgotten his people ---- nor had all the people forgotten their God.

In the little village of Modin, located about half-way between Jerusalem and Joppa, there lived a family by the name of Hasmon. Perhaps they were refugees from Jerusalem. The father, Mattathias, was a priest and intensely loyal to his religion. He had five sons:

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Johannes (or John), Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan, all of whom were destined to fame.

tasy, came into the city Modin to sacrifice." They set up an altar and called upon the people to offer sacrifice to the heathen god.

Particularly did they ask Mattathias and his sons to set the example, offering the old priest wealth and royal favor if he did. "And Mattathias answered and said with a loud voice, If all the nations that are in the house of the King's dominion hearken unto him, to fall away each one from the worship of his father's, and have made choice to follow his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words, to go aside from our worship, on the right hand, or on the left." One can almost feel the trembling rage and fervor with which Mattathias threw down this defiance.

Hardly had he ceased speaking when one of his fellow townsmen came forward to offer sacrifice on the foreign altar. So angered
was the old priest at the sight that he sprang forward and killed the
renegade. Then before anyone knew what to expect, he turned on the
royal official and killed him. He then tore down the hated altar.

Nothing but escape could save him now. He had refused to worship at the hated altar of the heathen god; he had just killed a

¹ I. Macc. 2:15.

² I. Macc. 2:19-22.

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royal official; --- the only course open to him was flight. Addressing himself to his fellow townsmen, he appealed to those who were zealous for the law to come with him and his family to some mountain hide-out. A few joined him, and the little band hurried up into some mountain retreat out of the way of the Greek soldiers. Mattathias probably little dreamed that his act would have any significance beyond the saving of himself and those who were with him. He may have hoped that they would live to see the defeat of the conqueror and the reestablishment of the worship of Yahweh, but he probably little dreamed that his sons would be the leaders who should lead his nation to independence. But life has many paradoxes, and God moves in mysterious ways. For strange as it may have then appeared, this was the beginning of victory for Judaism.

The word of Mattathias's daring act soon spread, and before long loyal Jews began to join him. As the band grew, it became apparent that Mattathias himself was too old to serve as leader, and it was agreed that Simon should be chief counselor and Judas should head the limilitary efforts of the little community. Judas, known as "the Macca-2 bee," soon became the recognized leader. Mattathias died in 166-165.

Made up of ill equipped, scantily supplied and untrained men from various parts of Judaea, this little band of rebels were for several months ignored by the Hellenizers. At first, no doubt, their 'military' expeditions were limited to short quick raids for food and supplies. As they

¹ I. Macc. 2:49-70.

² We are not certain of the meaning of the term, but it is usually interpreted to bbe 'Hammerer."

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grew stronger they began to give attention to the religious situation.

They began to strengthen the weak wills of the half-loyal Jews in the villages. They raided villages, broke down the heathen altars and images, forcibly circumcised the babies of the fearful, and escaped to their mountain hide-out, probably taking with them supplies and recruits.

Although they were not yet a formidable menace to the authorities, still they were becoming increasingly more troublesome, and a detachment of troops was sent to suppress them. The encounter took place on the Sabbath day, and because of their intense zeal for the Law, the little band refused to break the Sabbath even to protect themselves. The result was a horrible massacre. Seeing the absurdity of such a course, the little band decided that they would thereafter, if occasion arose, fight even on the Sabbath. Even the Chasidim were in favor of this, and their sanction added zeal to the band.

The Chasidim, or "the pious ones," were a group of Jews intensely, if not fanatically, devoted to the Law and to the observances of the Jewish religion. They were non-political and interested in obtaining religious freedom only --- not political independence. Indeed, when the Hasmonaeans and their followers proceeded to fight for independence, the strict Chasidim withdrew their support from them. They were, however, determined in their opposition to any force which threatened to dilute the Jewish religion --- many of them suffering martyrdom in the great persecution of the time. It is interesting to note that they were the forerunners of the Pharisees, and also, perhaps, of the Essenes, referred to in the New Testament. They represented some of the

best things in Judaism.

A word is appropriate here regarding these Jewish rebels who refused to bow to the onslaught of Hellenism. We are likely to think of the Jew, today, as being a city merchant or professional man; loyal to a religious code, but ready to adjust himself quickly to any standard of life in the society in which he moves, a man ready to get the better of his neighbor if and when the opportunity arises. Nothing could be farther from a description of Judas and his followers.

To picture the bands of Judas Maccabaeus we should not think of the Jews of medieval and modern times, but of people more like the fierce monotheistic ghazis of the Indian frontier --- Afghans and Pathans. Against such desperate fighters, filled with the flame of a religious enthusiasm, it may well be that the government troops, recruited amongst the Hellenized Syrians or half-breed Macedonians of the Seleucid realm, were often broken, even when they had a marked superiority of numbers. (1)

Something of their "fanaticism" can be heard in the words attributed to Judas in I Macc. 3:18, 19: "It is an easy thing for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with heaven it is all one, to save by many or by few: for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength is from heaven."

Judas was very early recognized as leader, and under his leadership the band grew in size and extended the circle of its guerrilla warfare. In 166-165 another force of Syrian soldiers sent against them was defeated and the leader, Apollonius, killed. Judas took his sword as his own, carrying it with him throughout the rest of his campaigns.

¹ Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII, p. 510.

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Probably the same year another Greek force, under command of Seron, was dispatched against them only to be defeated in a surprise attack at Bethhoron. Such victories must have increased the prestige, size, and power of the little band. It was not long before they presented a formidable revolt.

Antiochus saw that it would have to be crushed, and as he was about to leave for a campaign against the Parthians, he delegated Lyseas, whom he left in charge at Antioch, to settle the matter. From Antiochus' viewpoint, the activities of Judas and the rebels were still insignificant. Menelaus was probably still high priest in the Hellenized temple at Jerusalem, and since that city was in no danger, the little rebellion was not a pressing matter.

In the summer of 164 a force under Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, Nicanor, the son of Patroclus, and Gorgias was sent to restore the Syrian authority. Again, thanks to the quick, capable generalship of Judas, the "rebels" were victorious, and with the victory, came into possession of no little equipment and supplies.

For more than a year, 164-162, the government let the matter stand, and the Jews had a chance to strengthen their position.

One of their first moves was to take Jerusalem. Placing a small force to watch the Syrian military unit garrisoned in the Akra, they cleansed the temple of its heathen polution, destroyed the old altar, and erected a new one, and on the 25th. of Chislev (December), 164, just three years to a day after the "Abomination of Desolation" had begun, sacrifice was again offered to Yahweh in his sacred temple. It is interesting to note

that the stones of the old altar were laid aside until "there should loome a prophet to give an answer concerning them." It was a glorious day: The little band of loyal Jews had won their goal -- religious freedom. Little wonder that the day is still commemorated by their descendants in the feast of Chanukkah:

From now on, however, a new note is discernible in the program of Judas and his followers. They had won religious freedom, la and Oesterley suggests that, due to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (see below), they would probably have been left alone except for their 2a aggressive campaigns against their neighbors. One of the first of the expeditions was a double campaign into Galilee, under Judas and Jonathan, and into Gilead, under Simon, for the purpose of giving aid to the persecuted Jews of these regions. Both parties were successful, and the harrassed Jews of these regions were removed to Jerusalem. While this expedition was in progress, and the leaders away from Jerusalem, two ambitious "generals," Joseph, son of Zacharias, and Azarias, undertook a campaign to the west. They reached the town of Jamnia on the maritime plain where they met and were disastrously defeated by 2 Gorgias. According to I. Maccabees two thousand Jews were slain ---

Feeling little opposition from the government, the Jews began to expand their territory. They made campaigns to the east across

¹ I. Macc. 4:46.

² I. Macc. 5:55-64.

la Op. cit., p. 233.

²a See, I. Macc. 5:1-54.

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the Jordan, to the south into Idumaea (Edom) and to the west down onto the maritime plain. They burned and killed, destroyed altars, temples, and idols and took spoil. No doubt, the spoil was needed to supplement their none too plentiful resources, but the price they were to pay for it was tremendous. Their military aggression brought a powerful Syrian force which nearly defeated the whole Jewish cause.

In 166-164, as we noted above, Antiochus III started east to regain some of his lost territories, leaving Lysias in charge of affairs of state and guardian of the eight or nine year old crown prince, Antiochus (Eupator). In 163 Antiochus Epiphanes died while still in the east. For some unknown reason he appointed, just before his death, one of his generals, Philip, regent in Lysias' stead. Lysias, however, had possession of the empire and of the young emperor, and he had no intention of releasing his authority. Peace was to last only until Philip reached Antioch.

It was probably early in 162, that Judas, encouraged by

l his recent victories, besieged and took the Akra. Meanwhile, the affairs

of state at Antioch were settled, and Lysias determined the settle the

2 vexing Jewish question once and for all. Accordingly, he went south

with a large army, wisely choosing to march and attack Jerusalem from

the south, the easiest way of approach. Judas met and attacked him at

Bethsura. But the Greeks were too strong, and Judas withdrew his forces.

One unique and important event happened during the battle, the death of

¹ I. Macc. 6:18f.

² See I. Macc. 6.

Eleazar, the first of the Hasmons to die. The story is that he made his way under the elephant on which he supposed was riding the boy-king, Antiochus Eupator, stabbed the animal and died when it fell on him. His sacrifice was in vain, for he made a mistake -- the king was not on the animal he killed. (The young king's presence with the army was probably due to the fact that Lysias wasn't going to run any chances of having him fall into the hands of Philip or any other aspirant to the seat of authority in the kingdom.)

The way was now clear, and Lysias marched on Jerusalem.

Judas seems to have taken his position within the city and planned to withstand the siege. Due to its being the Sabbatical year, with the consequent shortage of crops, and to the presence within the country and city of so many refugees, the food supply was soon exhausted.

Many of the Jewish forces had fled and the cause looked utterly hopeless.

Then the unexpected happened. News was brought that Philip was in Antioch. This meant that Lysias must leave for home at once and must take all his forces with him. Consequently, he was ready to make easy peace with the rebels. He granted full pardon to all and religious freedom to the nation. Menelaus, the hated high priest, was put to death. The Akra was re-garrisoned, the Temple fortress destroyed, and a new military governor appointed over southern Palestine. Again the Jews were given a new lease on life.

² I. Macc. 6:53-54.

³ I. Macc. 6:53-54.

⁴ I. Macc. 6:58, 59; II. Macc. 13:24.

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Meanwhile, events of great importance were shaping themselves in the Seleucidean Empire. It will be remembered that when Seleucus IV died in 175, one of the candidates for the throne was his son, Demetrius, then held hostage in Rome. In 163, upon the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, this young man petitioned the Roman Senate for permission to return to Antioch and take over his rightful possession. The Senate refused him, but he escaped and arrived in Syria late in 162. He seems to have had little trouble winning the army and populace and was soon crowned king in the place of the boy, Antiochus Eupator, whom he caused to be put to death. Rome, however, could hardly give its approval to such high-handed defiance of its wishes and proceeded to stir up trouble for the new king among his neighbors. The Senate also gave its approval to a certain Timarchus, satrap of Babylonia and Media, who about this time asserted his claim to the throne.

This tangled political situation gave the Jews a chance to push their cause of political independence. They sent a delegation to Rome (their first) offering to join them as confederates, and receiving 1 the promise of aid in case of war. This was in 161. Rome's policy seems to have been to weaken Demetrius' position as much as possible. We know that she did not come to the aid of her Jewish "confederates" when they needed her.

It was probably at the time of the execution of Menelaus that Alkimus (Jahim), a pro-Syrian, was appointed to the high priest-

¹ I. Macc. 8:17-32.

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hood. He continued in that office for some time after the ascent of Demetrius. His arrival in Jerusalem marks the first open break between the strong party of the Chasidim and that of the Hasmonaeans. The former accepted Alkimus, while Judas and his followers opposed him. The difference in their attitude seems to have been due to the fact that the Chasidim were interested only in religious freedom, while the Hasmonaeans were now determined, if possible, to win political independence as well.

But the Chasidim were mistaken. Alkimus, a weak, crafty office-holder, broke faith with them and for some reason caused a number 2 of them to be put to death. Nothing could have been more stupid on his part. This merely reunited the religious and nationalist parties and increased the opposition. So critical did things become that Alkimus appealed to Demetrius for aid, and as a result received a small force under the command of Bacchides. Bacchides surveyed the situation and concluded that his personal attention was not needed and so returned to Antioch. But the nationalists were not the kind to give up easily, and before long Alkimus sent another appeal for aid. This time (early in 160) a force under Nicanor was defeated by Judas, and Nicanor himself killed.

In April, 160, another military unit of Syrians under the command of Bacchides was sent to Judaea. So large was this army that

¹ I. Macc. 7:14; II. Macc. 14:1-10.

² I. Macc. 7:16.

³ I. Macc. 9:1-22.

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many of Judas's followers lost heart and deserted. Some tried to dissuade Judas from engaging in battle, it looked so futile. But he, filled with holy zeal and confidence, presumably, would not listen, and so, with but eight hundred men attacked the whole army of Syrians. The battle took place at Elasa. From the beginning, the victory belonged to the invaders. The Jews were completely defeated, and Judas himself was killed.

It is impossible to give a true estimate of the character of this "fanatical" leader. That he was a military genius may well be doubted, but that he was a great leader of men no one will deny. He had gathered about him a band of dispirited nationalists and so enthused them with religious and national zeal that they were often able to defeat armies of trained Syrians much larger than their own. He seems to have been utterly unselfish -- a true patriot dedicated to the freedom and welfare of his native land. If it be charged that he was often cruel and bloody in the extreme, it must also be remembered that he lived in a cruel age when such practices were common. Motivated by fanatical zeal it is not surprising that he used the methods accepted in his day. His death was a great loss to the nationalists, and one for which they "made great lamentation . . . and mourned many days." He was buried by his brothers in the old family burying ground in Modin. Jonathan was elected by the nationalists to fill his place.

Bacchides pushed forward rapidly and was soon in complete

¹ I. Macc. 9:5 -- The place is now unknown.

² I. Macc. 9:20.

³ I. Macc. 9:19.

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control of the province. For a while the revolt was utterly crushed.

In 159 Alkimus died of a paralytic stroke, and for some reason no successor was appointed. Josephus tells us that the office was vacant l for seven years. Meanwhile, things had quieted down throughout the province and Bacchides returned to Antioch.

The next two years were comparatively quiet and were used by Jonathan to strengthen his position. That he succeeded remarkably well is proved by the fact that some time about 155, the Hellenistic party called again for aid from the sourt, and again Bacchides was sent. This time, however, the nationalists were so strong that he decided not to bother them at all and to return to Antioch. Hearing of this Jonathan offered to make peace, and the Syrian accepted. As a result, the Hellenistic party was left in charge of the city of Jerusalem, while Jonathan and his party were given the rest of the province with head-quarters in Michmash. For the next five years "Jonathan . . . judged the people, and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel."

Meanwhile, affairs in the empire were shaping themselves favorably for the Jews. It will be remembered that Timarchus of Babylon was one of Demetrius' rivals for the throne of Syria. In the winter of 161-150 Demetrius went east and soon settled the matter by putting the rebel leader to death. With him passed all formidable opposition, and Demetrius sent an embassy to Rome for her sanction. In spite of

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XII, 413.

² I. Macc. 9:73.

³ Ibid.

herself, Rome had to agree.

Had Demetrius been able to make and keep friends, he might very well have had a long, brilliant reign. He was capable, energetic, and firm. But he failed to win the loyalties of men. He openly despised his own subjects and thus alienated them. By 150 he had succeeded in antagonizing his neighbors to the point that they were seeking his downfall. The King of Pergamum set up a new claimant for the Syrian throne —— a young man called Alexander Balas, claimed by his friends to be the son of Antiochus IV. With the aid of Rome he was established in Ptolemias and began to threaten Demetrius from the south.

Thus hard pressed and desperately in need of friends,

Demetrius bid for the support of the Hasmons. He sent Jonathan's hostages back to him, and authorized him to raise troops for the royal army. The Syrian troops were recalled from Judaea -- Beth-sur only remaining in the hands of the Government as a place of refuge for the Hellenizing Jews. Balas countered by bidding for Jonathan's friendship, appointing him high priest and conferring on him the title of "Friend."

In October, 152, Jonathan officiated in the temple at the Feast of Tabernacles. Demetrius again made a bid for Jonathan's friendship, but the Jews decided to remain loyal to Alexander. This gave Palestine to him. Two years later, 150, Demetrius fell in battle and Alexander Balas became king.

He was one of the weakest of ancient monarchs. Under him the cities and provinces had very wide latitude and did about as they liked. He was very friendly toward Egypt -- perhaps, even subordinate

to her. In 150-149 he married the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, the king of Egypt attending the grand celebration in person. Jonathan attended and received the appointment of governorship of Judaea.

In 147, however, Demetrius II (Nicator), the fourteenyear-old son of Demetrius Sorter, came with an army of Cretan mercenaries to claim his father's throne. He soon won the support of nearly
all the empire including Apollonius whom he appointed governor of CoeleSyria. Jonathan, however, remained loyal to Balas and was seen at war
with Apollonius. In this he had fair success. Several cities on the
maritime plain fell into his hands and were turned over to Alexander.
For this service, he was rewarded with the gift of the city of Ekron.

About this time (147) Ptolemy Philometer advanced into Palestine. We do not know just what his purpose may have been, but we may be sure that he was out to get all he could, probably hoping to retake Coele-Syria for his own. When in Seleucia he declared against Alexander and offered his daughter to Demetrius. Alexander fled to Cilicia, and Ptolemy entered Antioch. Fearing Roman interference he refrained from accepting the crown of Syria and set the young Demetrius on the throne instead. The two kings then advanced against Alexander and overwhelmingly defeated and killed him in a battle on the river Oenoparas, Ptolemy was also mortally wounded in this engagement.

Jonathan's next move was to go to the court in Antioch to bid for the friendship of the new king, Demetrius Nicator. He was cordially received and given the rank of "First Friend." It was agreed that the Jews should pay a tribute of three hundred talents cash in place

of the usual annual tribute.

In 143 Diodotus, formerly a general under Demetrius I,

led a revolt of Syrian Greeks and soon put forth the infant son of

Alexander and Cleopatra as king under the name of Antiochus Theos Epi
phanes Dionysos (Antiochus V). Diodotus himself assumed the name

Tryphon. He met with rapid success and soon entered the city of Antioch

in triumph. This split the kingdom into two opposing camps -- Tryphon

holding Antioch and the surrounding territory, and Demetrius II holding

the seaboard and the territory east of the Euphrates.

Jonathan now gave his loyalty to Antiochus Dionysos (in reality to Tryphon) and was made "Kinsman." Simon was appointed strategos (military governor) of the whole of Coele-Syria. The garrison at Beth-sur was replaced with a Jewish one, and Adida commanding the road to Joppa was fortified by the Jews. Jonathan next sent a delegation to Rome seeking to win their friendship and powerful sanction. It was, perhaps, due to this gesture on the part of Jonathan which caused Tryphon to seize him treacherously while he was in Ptolemias, and soon thereafter put him to death. Jonathan had become too powerful in Judaea.

The last of the Hasmon brothers, Simon, now assumed the leadership. His "official title seems to have been 'High Priest and General (Hebrew sagan, Greek strategos) and Prince of the people of God (Hebrew sar am El, Greek ethnarches).'" (In 140 he was elected high priest by the people.) He gave his support to Demetrius, who in turn

¹ John had been killed by Arabs, circa. 160, B.C. See I. Macc. 9:36.

² Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII, p. 527.

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made large concessions to the Jews. All claim to future tribute was renounced, and the Jews were given permission to fortify their city.

Only the Akra remained, and May, 141, it surrendered. Independence was now a fact.

In 141 Demetrius II lost Babylonia to the Parthians and soon thereafter fell into the hands of these invaders. Tryphon was now sole ruler. He was soon captured by the brother of Demetrius II who set himself up as ruler under the name of Euergetes (nick-named Sidetes), Antioch VII. Tryphon committed suicide.

Antiochus VII was liberal with the Jews, recognizing the concessions they had already won, but demanding tribute for places Simon had taken with a high hand. In 138 a force of Syrians advanced into the land of Judaea to collect this, but it was defeated by the Jews under the leadership of John Hyrcanus and Judas, son of Simon. Three years of peace for the Jews followed, Antiochus VII probably being too busy to bother with them.

In February, 134, Simon was assassinated by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who sought to seize the Jewish power. In this he was prevented by the quick action of John Hyrcanus who took over the leadership in his father's stead. Almost at once Antiochus VII struck at Judaea.

Joppa, Gazara, and other recent Jewish conquests were retaken by the Syrians. Jerusalem itself was besieged, and after a year's resistance, fell.

Antiochus VII was generous. He did not demand the old tribute, gave back the cities and territory the Jews had captured, and

insisted only on a war indemnity of five hundred talents. John Hyrcanus had to give hostages, including his brother. The fortifications about the city were demolished and the Jews were once more made subject to a gentile power.

In 129 Antiochus VII lost his life in an attempt to regain his eastern territory from the Parthians. Meanwhile, Demetrius had been set free by the Parthians in the hope that he would break his brother's power. He now became king but was wholly unable to control things.

The Seleucid empire was crumbling.

The death of Antiochus VII, 129, gave the Jews a new lease on life. Indeed, in the years of anarchy following, they were able to push their frontiers out to approximately those of the old Davidic Empire. The fight against the Greeks was won.

Chapter IX

SOME CONTRASTS BETWEEN HELLENISM AND JUDAISM

Before we proceed to a discussion of the influence of Hellenism upon Judaism, let us review quickly some of the outstanding points of contrast between the two. First, then, in forms of Government: Judaism was a theocracy. As we have already noted, the government of Judaism after the return from Babylon was an ecclesiastical oligarchy. The high priest was head of both religious and provincial affairs. With him were associated a group of wealthy nobles, very often closely related to him. A rather closely defined democracy underlay the system, thus guaranteeing to the individual certain rights. imbuing him with a feeling of worth and importance and winning from him a strong feeling of loyalty for the "state." Hellenism, on the other hand, was organized into great autocratic monarchical systems depending very largely upon military power for their very existence. There was virtually no democracy, and the individual felt neither responsibility for nor loyalty to the state. He was lost in the bigness' of the the political machine. Herein was one of Hellenism's greatest weaknesses. Furthermore, it was divided against itself. --- Egypt versus Syria versus Macedonia, et cetera, whereas Judaism was, for the most part, at harmony within itself.

In the realm of religion we find a still greater contrast between the two. Judaism was monotheistic; Hellenism polytheistic, or agnostic. For the Jews, God was a Spirit, and ceremonies and sacrifices were only symbolical ways of worshipping him. For the Greeks,

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idolatry was very common. The Jews had a sublime faith in Yahweh; the Greeks laughed at their gods. For the Jews, religion had crystallized into the Torah, so that salvation was won through a strict observance of laws. For the Greeks salvation was won through a belief in magic and rite and often divorced from all ethical and moral considerations. The Jews drew sharp lines of distinction between the clean and the unclean, the sacred and the secular, the holy and the unholy. This tended to limit their expression of life and to limit them in the discovery and enjoyment of beauty. The Greeks, on the other hand, were free, They had an open frankness about all things natural, and all taboos and prohibitions had to justify themselves before the bar of reason or be rejected. Because they were strict monotheists, the Jews refused to worship before the state shrines holding that such worship was idolatrous. To the Greeks such an attitude was absurd -one or two more gods made little difference, and it was much better to go through the forms than to pay the penalty for refusing. In matters of religion, the Jews were almost fanatical in their loyalty, while the Greeks were usually quite indifferent. In the matters involving the great principles of Jewish religion, -- Monotheism, Purity, Righteousness. Justice. -- Helenism was weak. As we have pointed out. Greek civilization was weakest in its religion.

Closely allied with the religious question was that of the moral and ethical. Here there was a sharp contrast between the two civilizations. The Jews were the moral teachers of the ancient world. They were honest, dependable, just, clean. The Greek, on the other

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hand, too often followed the dictates of policy and expediency. They were too often independable, dishonest, and their sexual life was often wholly uncontrolled.

In matters of social and civic life we have seen how Jewish life revolved about the temple and found expression in religious ceremony and worship, while Greek life centered about the gymnasium, the theater, the athletic field, and the race track. This is important, for it is in this realm that people live, form their ideas and ideals, accept or reject the new and preserve or discard the old. Here it is that character is made and tested and eternal values are discovered and lost. Life is the laboratory in which religion and morals are tested. Those of Judaism met the test successfully; those of Hellenism failed and were discarded.

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Chapter X

HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE ON JUDAISM

As we have already seen, life in Judaea throughout most of the period we are studying was motivated by zeal for the Law and an undying hope for the future. Their national spirit was broken and in its place we see their intense loyalty to Yahweh and his Law. The reform under Ezra had made them severely exclusive in their attitudes and ways of life. We have noted the intensity of their zeal and genuineness of their religion in the mighty struggle against Hellenism. It is therefore not surprising that the literature which has come down to us is predominantly religious in nature and shows little evidence of Greek influence. Of this Schürer says:

In the period now under consideration, literary efforts as such were essentially foreign to "Palestinian" Judaism. One might almost venture to say that it had no literature at all. For the few literary productions of which it could boast had, for the most part, a purely practical aim, and had but a very slender connection with each other. It is precisely from these writings themselves that we can see how true it is that zeal for the Law and the faith of the fathers eclipsed every other interest. When anyone took to writing he did so as a rule for the purpose of. in one form or another, exhorting his readers to keep firm hold of those precious blessings, or of indirectly helping to increase and strengthen a spirit of faithful devotion to the Law. Literary pursuits as such, and the cultivation of literature in the interests of culture generally, were things quite unknown to genuine Judaism. Its "culture" consisted in the knowledge and observance of the Law.

¹ Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Vol. III, pp. 2,3.

Tarn's estimate is also worthy of note:

. . from 200 onwards, the Jews produced an enormous literature, in which three languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, bore their part; among it were portions of the Old Testament canon -- Ecclesiastes, Daniel (a vivid monument of Antiochus' persecution), part of Proverbs, many Psalms -- and most of the Apocrypha. This literature included psalms and wisdom-literature, some of the highest merit; the new religious orientation of the Apocalyptic writers; history, true and false; stories and proverbs, propaganda, magical books, and forgeries, -- a literature of many complicated currents, testifying to the vitality of the people who produced it. Except for Ecclesiasticus. II Maccabees, and some of the propaganda writings, the names of the authors in every case are unknown; unlike the Greek, the Jew had no personal pride in authorship, probably because he so often felt himself the vehicle of something before which his own personality sank into insignificance. (1)

interpret the past and make it contribute to the spiritual life of the people. The outstanding example is that of Chronicles-Ezra, Nehemiah, probably done about 300-250. This shows practically no influence of Greek thought. The book of Tobit (reflecting the spirit and thought of the Jewish colony in Media) and the Book of Jubilees, both coming to us from the Ptolemaic period, are narratives showing no direct Greek influence. The Books of Judith and Esther are also historic narratives written for the purpose of inspiring a spirit of nationalism and loyalty and courage. There is no, or at least very little, Hellenic influence traceable in them.

The Law made prophecy almost impossible. God had spoken, and in the Law men had His word. Study and keep that Law! This was

¹ W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 183.

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the prevailing attitude in Judaism. How then was one with a new thought from God to get it to the people? How could there be any progress? To meet this dilemma men resorted to a literary device common in the Ancient World, though utterly condemned today, namely, the publishing of some work under the name of some historic character who commanded the respect of the nation. Much prophetic exhortation and spiritual teaching was thus given to the people in these <u>Pseudepigraphic</u> compositions. <u>Daniel</u>, <u>Enoch</u>, <u>The Ascension of Moses</u>, are examples. There is a wide difference of opinion among scholars regarding the amount of Greek influence discernible in these and other writings, but it is quite evident that it is not strong.

The Book of Daniel, an apocalypse, was probably written during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, and is an attempt to encourage the faithful Jews suffering so severely at the hands of the foreigners. Hidden amid the strange pictures, creatures, numbers, etcetera, is to be found a rather clear outline of the history of the time. The book is a noble representation of the valiant faith of Judaism of the time. It does not, however, show any signs of being strongly influenced by Hellenic thought. This is not surprizing when we consider its purposes, namely to resist Hellenism, and to encourage those who were resisting.

Two prophetic works date from this period — Jonah and Zechariah 9-14. The former (circa 300) was probably written before Greek influence had found its way into Judaism. Zechariah 9-14 is in all probability from about the middle of the third century. It reflects

the alarm with which the leaders of Judaism were beginning to view Hellenism. In 9:13 we read:

For I have bent Judah for me, I have filled the bow with Ephraim; and I will stir up thy sons, 0 Zion, against thy sons, 0 Greece, and will make thee as a sword of a mighty man.

One feels the intensity of spirit which must have gripped the heart of the writer of these words, but there is no Hellenistic spirit reflected in them.

Hampered in the free expression of Prophetic impulses
by the Law, men adopted a new method of influencing the religious life
of their contemporaries. They turned to the writing of practical devotional materials which came to be known as "Wisdom Literature." In
this we see the religion of the prophets and the Law blended and interpreted in practical and moral proverbs and homilies and dialogues.
It is intensely "human ... and concerned with living questions and
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concrete issues."

The Book of Ecclesiasticus is one of the outstanding examples of this kind of literature. It was written between 200 and 175 and translated into Greek in 132. Its writer, Ben Sirach was probably an aristocratic Jew who was not deeply impressed with many of the things the priests insisted upon as being important. For his religion was a matter of being morally good. He may have been quite strongly influenced by Greek thought, but not much of it finds its way directly into his work.

¹ Hastings' Bible Dictionary. (One Vol., pl 976).

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Ecclesiastes is another wisdom book dating from about the same time. It is pessimistic and hedonistic in its outlook. "All is vanity;" there is nothing new under the sun; there is no life after death; eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we die; is his general philosophy. He does, however, long for immortality but has not faith to believe that it exists. He is not an atheist nor an agnostic. He believes that God must have a plan; therefore men should "remember their Creator in the days of their youth" and trust God's plan. Scholars are divided regarding the extent of the Greek influence in this book. It is probable that it reflects the indifferent spirit in Judaism in the late-Ptolemaic age. Religion had probably lost much of its vigor and glow in the "balmy" days of the third century, and the endless round of laws, no doubt, wearied many men of that day.

Job, many of the <u>Proverbs</u> and some of the <u>Psalms</u> date from this period, but the Greek influence traceable in them is very slight if any at all.

It is from First Maccabees, written shortly after the close of our period, that we get much of the history of the Great Revolt. It is one of the best bits of history coming to us from the Ancient world. Indeed so detailed is it that one feels certain that the writer must have had access to some kind of record made during the stirring days of the Maccabees. It is an intensely nationalistic document. Its companion work, Second Maccabees is not nearly so accurate and historic, but it too is of value in reflecting for us the temper of the times. Neither work shows any strong Hellenistic influence permanently affecting

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Judaism.

We conclude, therefore, that the direct influence of Hellenism on Jewish literature was very limited indeed. At the same time we must recognize that the aggression of Hellenism stimulated a wave of national feeling which strongly reflected in the writings of the day.

Chapter XI

PERMANENT INFLUENCE OF HELLENISM UPON JUDAISM

Had the peaceful policy of the Ptolemies and of Antiochus the Great not been revoked by Antiochus Epiphanes, the history of Judaism would probably have been vastly different. For, as we have seen. Hellenism was gradually softening Jewish "Exclusivism" and winning adherents, Conditions were favorable for trade and many took up commercial pursuits. Many young men entered the army, and others found their way into other forms of governmental service. Travel was not common, but neither was it uncommon, communication was easy, and ideas passed readily from one part of the kingdom to the other. The Greek cities of Southern Palestine had no little influence on Jewish thought and life. Greek customs, dress, and language became familiar and unrepulsive throughout Judaea. With the language came the ideas. and there was much in Hellenism to commend itself to Jewish thought. Indeed, so attractive and worthwhile did Hellenism appear to the Jews of this age that it is almost certain that had the mad Antiochus IV not tried to force the process, Judaism would, in outward form, have been greatly modified.

Nor would this modification have been all for the bad. There was little danger that she would modify the fundamentals of her faith, and given time, she would have learned that the externals were not essential. Indeed, during the next one hundred and fifty years she did learn it, so that even though Jerusalem was destroyed and the

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whole sacrificial system swept away, 70 A.D., Judaism continued a vital, living force in history. But during the Greek period this time had not yet arrived.

At its best Judaism had a universal outlook. The prophets had visioned a day when Israel should be the teacher of the whole world, ane men should learn of her and live together as brothers. Universalism in its highest spiritual sense was a part of her creed. This spirit should have responded to Hellenism like a flower to light. Here was a philosophy of life and a political power which cut across all national and creedal lines and drew men together in one great whole. Why did Judaism resist?

Two reasons may be given: First, since the Exile Judaism had built a wall -- the Law -- about herself which shut her in and shut others out. Perhaps this spirit of exclusiveness was the only way she had of preserving her faith, but it prevented her from adopting much that was good in Hellenism. Second, not all in Hellenism was good. Some things in its philosophy and religion violated the fundamental tenets of Jewish faith. For the Jews to unite with these would have been to play traitor to her own best self, to her heritage and to her God.

One of the great world contributions of Hellenism which should have appealed to the Jews was that of Beauty. The Greeks had a remarkable sense of the aesthetic. Beauty of architecture, painting, sculpture, of the human body -- these should have won the approval of the beauty-loving Jews. And they did make a great impression on many.

The gymnasium, as we have seen, appealed to many of the young men including some of the priests of the temple. Prejudice and an instinctive fear lest they lose the values so dear to their race prevented a whole-hearted acceptance of this element of Hellenism. Just how much these elements of beauty did influence the Jews is not easy to estimate, but certainly it was not very much.

But Hellenism did help to broaden Judaism. It is doubtful whether the Jews would ever have become the teachers of the world, had some force not come into the world to prepare the way for the message they had to bring. Someone or something had to break up the old-world soil in preparation for the precious seed Israel had discovered. "something" that did this was Hellenism. It smashed old systems and gave people a common language. It destroyed old religious systems and gave the old world a new vision of life. This gave Judaism her chance. It also helped to break the wall of separation surrounding Judaism and forced her out into the world. The process of dispersion continued throughout the Greek period. Families were forcibly transplanted from one part of the kingdom to another. Trade enticed others to distant parts, and the persecution caused many others to flee. As a result, Jews were to be found in all parts of the known world. The synagogue, with its moral and spiritual influence was carried into many of the cities of the Greek world.

Throughout the period we are studying, Jerusalem was surrounded by cities organized after the modified plan of the Greek city-state. Here interest in city life was fostered. Here the individ-

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leadership. There were councils to be elected, trials to be conducted, local taxes to be paid, local festivals and entertainments to enjoy, the gymnasium, the lectures, et cetera, all of which moulded the lives of the citizens of these city-states. Their influence must have radiated to Jerusalem and the other cities of Judaea. Just how much this may have modified the Jews we do not know, but it must have helped to broaden their outlook. It probably modified their forms of government, their customs, their "philosophy of life," but to what extent we do not know. It is quite possible that the influence of the Greek city-council is to be seen in the organization of the Sanhedrin. Indeed, it is quite possible that this body came into being during the Greek period. It is quite probable that the democratic nature of the synagogue owes much to Greek influence.

"The difficulty of estimating to what extent Jewish religious thought and practice were affected by outside influence is very considerable; not less difficult is it to determine what extraneous influence had affected a particular belief or custom." We can never be certain whether a given practice or belief came from Hellenism direct, or whether both Hellenism and Judaism borrowed from some common Asiatic source. The fundamental tenets of Judaism did not modify. However, there came into Jewish religious life of this period new elements which scholars believe are due to Greek thought and practice.

Some of the feasts and processions were probably modified after the Greek practices. The tendency to interpret religious tra-

ditions and superstitions allegorically, a practice common during this period may owe its prevalence, if not its origin, to Greek philosophic and metaphysical thought.

The persecution tended to make the Jews more exclusive than before. They began to take new pride in their <u>law</u>. The author of Daniel lauds the heroism of the "ancients" who stood firm for their faith — the same faith these people were called upon to defend. They came to cherish their religion as a precious possession. At the same time the feeling against the foreigners was greatly intensified.

Another religious belief to win wide acceptance during this age was that of immortality. The Greeks of this period seem to have held a helief in life after death, and perhaps the Jews borrowed some from them. However, Judaism was ripe for such a belief before Hellenism came. The writer of Job "played" with the idea, though he did not quite reach it. One can sense a yearning in Ecclesiastes for some assurance of life beyond. Belief in angels became current in the last of the Persian and early Grecian periods. A strong belief in retribution and reward after death seems to have permeated the thinking of the Jews at this time. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should begin to arise during the great persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes a strong belief in the immortality of the individual. What mattered it if the "nation" did continue, if those who died for her were not to reap any of the blessings? Belief in individual immortality became an essential part of their religion.

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Chapter XII

SUMMARY

For about twelve hundred years the Hebrews, a branch of the great Semitic race, had lived in Palestine. From their desert origin they had inherited a few great moral and religious principles which were destined to have a tremendous influence on their history and upon the world. They were a people of one God, Yahweh, and were forbidden to worship either other gods or idols. This eventually led to universal, ethical monotheism. They were a people of "the Covenant," a concept which laid the foundation for constitutional government. A sense of democracy inherited from their desert ancestors gave the individual Hebrew a sense of his own importance and worth. Out of the priestly-ceremonial system centering in the tabernacle, came the temple and the priestly office and priestly code, which did much to preserve Judaism. Israel was blessed with many prophets who by their lives and teachings spiritualized her religion and led her into high ethical monotheism.

During and after the Babylonian captivity, the Hebrews placed great stress and importance upon their Law in order to preserve their identity and their ideals. Inter-marriage was prohibited, sharp distinctions were drawn between the clean and the unclean, and much importance was attached to ceremonies. Life had settled down to a rather happy existence with the temple as its center. Judaism was developing some great principles later to be given to the world.

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A few centuries prior to the settlement of the Hebrews in Palestine, the Greeks had displaced the people of the Aegean world, and had settled down to develop one of the most brilliant civilizations of all time. Their achievements were manifold, there being hardly a realm of human endeavor in which they did not make some significant contribution. Due, perhaps, to the irregular topography of their land, their civilization crystallized into city-states. In these little independent units the individual gained a new sense of his own importance and worth, a sense of vigorous freedom and passion for democracy. Indeed, this was one of the great contributions which they made to the world.

The Greeks were lovers of truth and beauty and made significant contributions in both realms. But in the realm of religion and morals they were babes. They never really out grew their polytheism, and when the old gods were discarded, they had no clear, vital conception of deity to take its place. They were thus the prey of all the crude Asiatic religions which came their way. Morally, they were also children, following the dictates of expediency and desire rather than conscience or a high moral code such as the Jews had.

In 333 B. C., Alexander the Great, of Macedonia, defeated Darius III, of Persia, in the battle of Issus. During the next ten years, he made himself master of almost the entire Asiatic territory west of the Indus River. He died in 323 leaving no one to take his place. Civil war soon broke out among his generals, for each sought

to grab as large a part of the Empire for himself as possible. After twenty-five years of intermittent fighting a precarious peace was reached. This left Ptolemy I (Lagi) in control in Egypt and Coele-Egypt and Seleucus in control of much of the vast Asiatic conquests of Alexander. In spite of several efforts on the part of the successors of Seleucus to displace them, the Ptolemies held Coele-Syria for eighty years.

During this time the Jews were under the dominance of Egypt. Excepting for a few times when the armies of the Ptolemies swept through the province -- once, under Ptolemy Lagi, taking captive many Jews and transporting them to Egypt -- Judaea had comparative peace. The government was strong, and as long as the taxes were paid, interfered very little with local affairs. Many Jews migrated to Alexandria and Egypt, where many of them rose to positions of responsibility, wealth, and power. Many others entered the armies of the Ptolemies. Greek language and customs became familiar in the streets of Jerusalem. No attempt was made to force Hellenic ways onto the Jews, yet during this time Hellenism probably made a great impression on Judaism. Could this process have continued uninterrupted, history, would, no doubt, have been much different.

However, in 223, Antiochus III (the Great) one of the ablest of Seleucidean monarchs, came to the throne. He immediately endeavored to seize Coele-Syria, and although he made several attempts early in his reign, it was not until the Battle of Panion, 199 B.C., that he finally succeeded. This made him master of the whole province,

including Judaea. In 190 Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans and made to pay a heavy tribute. From now on, Roman influence was strong in the Near-East. In 187 Antiochus III was killed while trying to rob the temple of Belus, in Elymais. His son, Seleucus IV was one of the weakest rulers of the Syrian Empire.

During the struggle for possession of Coele-Syria, the

Jews suffered severely. However, when once Antiochus III was master

he treated the Jews with fairness and liberality. Indeed, they pro
bably noticed little difference between the new order and the old.

Many Jews, no doubt, were quite happy with the change; they were

quite sympathetic with the principles of Hellenism and felt that

this might promote the new order. Others, on the contrary, were still

sympathetic with Egypt.

Co-existent with this difference of opinion regarding "international" affairs, there was, in Jerusalem, a sharp conflict regarding the introduction of Hellenistic customs and practices. Also, during this same period the house of Oniad and the house of Tobiad were divided among themselves over the control of the high-priesthood. A quarrel ensued over it between Simon, the Prostates of the Temple, and Onias III, and as a result of an appeal made by Simon to the provincial governor, Heliodorus came to Jerusalem to rob the temple of its treasure. He did not succeed, probably being prevented by a mob of infuriated Jews.

In 175 Antiochus Epiphanes became king. He was one of the strangest characters ever to occupy the Syrian throne. An autocrat at

heart, he took a delight in an outward show of democracy. He was intensely interested in the spread of Hellenism, though how much he really understood and appreciated it is a question. He is probably the only one of the Syrian emperors who took his deification seriously. He seems actually to have believed himself to be Epiphanes -- God-manifest. As such, no Law or power stood above his will. With such an attitude he was the last man to understand and deal with the Jews. At the time of Antiochus' ascension, Onias III was in Antioch on official business. His unscrupulous brother, Jason bribed the new king into appointing him high-priest in Onias' placel The appointment, however, was an outrage to the Jews, for as long as Onias III was alive he was the rightful occupant of the office, and no foreign ruler had any right to depose him. Jason was a strong Hellenistic sympathizer and under his direction many Greek customs were introduced into Jerusalem. He built a Gymnasium which became very popular. He encouraged the wearing of Greek clothing and even registered the citizens of the city as citizens of Antioch. It would seem that Hellenism had come to stay.

Although none of the fundamentals of Judaism were being modified by these innovations, the conservatives were alarmed. And rightly so, for it was a question how long Judaism could remain unchanged in the face of these outward manifestations of Greek life.

It was not long, however, before Menelaus outbid Jason and was appointed high priest in his stead. The citizens of Jerusalem were funous. The new appointee was not even a member of the house of

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Zodak -- Menelaus was an unscrupulous politician and held office only by the aid of an armed body of Syrian soldiery stationed in the Akra.

Incidentally, they kept their eyes on him also. It was under his administration that some of the sacred vessels of the temple were removed.

--- Jerusalem was seething with discontent and rebellion, and carried on a guerrilla warfare against the Greeks and the pro-Hellenistic Jews.

Several forces of Syrians sent against the little band were defeated, and finally in 164 Jerusalem was retaken and the temple restored.

Antiochus IV died in 163, and had the Jews been willing to quit there, the chances are that they would have been allowed to live in peace, unmolested by any further Governmental efforts to "Hellenize" them. But they now dreamed of political independence and would be satisfied with nothing else. They made several successful campaigns into surrounding territory and finally became so strong that Lysias, regent for the young king, Antiochus V (Eupator) decided to settle the matter for good. This was in 162. He defeated Judas at Bethsura, and then besieged Jerusalem. He was, however, suddenly called to Antioch and made a very easy peace with the Jews.

In 172-1 trouble with Egypt threatened, and in 169 it actually broke out. In the summer of that year Antiochus invaded Egypt. In the summer of the following year he again invaded it. This time he was summarily told by a Roman legate to withdraw. Chagrined and angered he turned back home with the determination to strengthen his own territory. Jerusalem was the first to feel the brunt of his new policy.

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A riot had taken place between the followers of Jason and of Menelaus over the control of the high priesthood. To Antiochus, no doubt, it appeared like a rebellion -- an effort to displace his appointee. He, therefore, turned aside to settle the matter. Jerusalem suffered severely. A little later a drastic attack on the city under Apollonius completely demoralized the Jews. The city wall and the temple were destroyed. An altar to Zeus was set up within the sacred precinct of the temple, and swine's flesh offered thereon. Jewish customs were strictly forbidden, and all Jews were ordered to worship at the state altars. It suddenly looked as though Judaism were doomed.

However, in the town of Modin there lived an old priest, Mattathias, and his five sons. One day when called upon to worship at the pagan shrine he burst forth in an angry refusal, killed the Greek official, and when he had destroyed the altar, escaped with his sons to the hills. His son, Judas "the Maccabee," soon became the leader of the "rebels" and steadily increased his strength.

Shortly after this, Demetrius I became king. Taking advantage of Rome's hostile attitude toward the new king, the Jews in 161 sent their delegation to Rome and won the Senate's promise of aid in their struggle.

About this time, Alkimus, a weak despot and tool of the Antiochan court was appointed high priest. Opposition to him was so strong that several times he had to call on the court for military aid.

In April, 160, a force under command of Bacchides was

sent to Judaea, and in the battle of Elasa, Judas lost his life. Jonathan took his place.

During the next few months of "peace" which followed

Jonathan strengthened his position, and when Bacchides again came at
the call of the Hellenistic party, the situation looked so severe that
he agreed to a very easy peace with the "rebels." For another five
years the province had peace.

In 150 Alexander Balas, a tool of the king of Pergamum, claimed the Seleucidian throne. Being hard pressed by his enemies, Demetrius I bid for Jonathan's friendship, offering him large concessions and sending him back his hostages. The Jews, however, chose to cast their lot with Balas. In the political dickering of the next few months the Jews became almost independent.

In 143 Diadatus (Tryphon), a former general under Demetrius I claimed the throne for Antiochus Dionysos, infant son of Alexander and Cleopatra. He met with rapid success. Jonathan gave his support to this new aspirant and again won liberal concessions. Not long a fter this the Jews sent a delegation to Rome again bidding for its support. Fearing lest the Jews should become too strong, Tryphon seized Jonathan, when the Jewish leader was in Antioch, and had him immediately put to death. Immediately, Simon assumed the leadership.

In the next few months the Jews won their coveted goal-- political independence.

The influence of Hellenism, and Judaism's reactions to it were very limited. The literature of this period shows comparatively

little Greek influence, most of it being religious and reactionary in nature. However, Daniel, Zechariah 9-14, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, some of the Psalms, and Proverbs give evidence of some Greek thought.

Because of a basic antithesis between the fundamental philosophies, the Jews rejected much in Hellenism which should have appealed to them - a sense of universalism, an appreciation of beauty, a fearless search for truth, et cetera. Had they been able to differentiate between the essential and non-essential in their religion and between the valuable and the invaluable in Hellenism they might have enriched their own religion tremendously. But such differentiations are not easily made, and so Judaism rejected most of Hellenism.

However, Hellenism did leave its imprint. Hellenism scattered the Jews. Some of the feasts of Judaism give evidence of having been touched by Hellenism. It is possible that the Sanhedrin had its birth in this period. Certainly, it later showed signs of the Hellenistic influence.

During this period, the people became increasingly aware of their "peculiarity" among the nations. They were a people of "the Law."

And finally out of the persecutions of Antiochus especially, there arose a strong belief in the Law.

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